/370 cont./

763 /footnote 85 cont./ July 5, 1954, lasted from 3 o'clock in the early morning until 10 o'clock in the day, when the burial was concluded.

calm is restored, as if nothing abnormal had happened (86).

86. If it is a husband or child who died, the sorrow at times is sincere and prolonged, and, in order to distract themselves, they go around to other malocas.

They resume their jobs, meal, or conversations with the habitual typical laughter.

If by chance it was during the night that the death took place, they customarily, after the weeping, stay up during the night, but talking gaily and drinking chibé, without concerning themselves about the dead one any longer.

764 The relatives, as they arrive to visit the family, casually or because they have learned of the death, have the same relief of noisy and laudatory wailing. On the occasion of the burial they /371/ reinitiate the weeping.

• 765 When some relative who lives farther away, even if it is months later, meets the widower or widow for the first time after the death of the spouse, he places his hands on the shoulder and not infrequently the scene of the wailing is renewed.

The simple news of some death is also apt to provoke the official wailing. It is to be noted that, although the dead person might be from the husband's tribe, many times the latter will not show any sign of grief, will calmly continue his gay chatting, leaving to his wife (who is from another tribe) the duty of wailing for the dead.

/371 cont./

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[115]

Here is one of these elegies (87).

87. It has been furnished to us by the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi.

Paxkó uxtígo
the mother who mourns

Yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ!
o my son! my son! my son!

Derowégo yöö döxporó wẽ'rítohati mãã!
why I before not die you?

Mãã añũ-buxtyágö, tuxtwágö nítohapö.
you very good (handsome), strong were.

Mãã yöö yukése. yöö ekatisé, yöö maisé-mẽra.
you my hope, my joy, my love-also (you were).

Mãã dyápo-a-ré, yöö ĩ'ãsomé, mãã buhisé-ré,
your face, I shall not see, your smile,

Mãã böxsösé-ré töosomé!
your voice I shall not hear!

De'ró mãã marísé-mẽra a'té nãxkã-pö, a'té dyá-pö?
how you without (also shall I live) in these forests, on these rivers?

A'té wi'i-pö ỹa'ã-buxtyasé-mẽra kaxtí-maxsísari?
in this house so sad to live will I be able?

Mãã maigö oxkó-ré, pexká-mẽ-ré yöö-ré axpo-yúgö.
you lovingly water, fire for me prepared.

Mãã pax-kö wẽ'rise-re nãxkãtise-re darétohapa.
of your father the death not heavy you made for me.

Mãã yöö-ré wai-re dyá-pö-ré oógö.
you for me fish from the river brought.

Mãã nãxkã-pö yuxkö-döxká-ré oógö
you from the forest the fruits brought.

Mãã marísé-mẽra ỹeé-ré we:bósari?
you without what thing shall I do (now)?

ö'mã-kori nãxkã uxtígo, mãã-mẽra maxsã-pé-pö sooseré.
the days all to weep, with you in the grave to rest.

Yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ!
o my son! my son! my son!

/374 cont./

764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant [535] libations of caxirí and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirí there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one [628] of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

• 765 It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," mihí (the late one).

*[192] There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

[775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into Wãx-tí (disembodied spirit) and an frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of Wãx-tí?)).

[115] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubu-
[535] cuara, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kõmũ, the caxirí (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

CANNIBALISM

121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism or anthropophagy.

266 In America it is a custom verified among the Karaíba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

/376 cont./

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266 Other natives designated for us the ferocious Indians of the river Cauaburi, tributary from the left of the middle Rio Negro, as being the famous Yai-peri maxsÃ or Onça /jaguar/ Tooth People. These, however, seem to be only legendary beings (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

Concerning the Pinao Indians of Colombia, we read that they sold the human flesh of their war slaves in their markets. This refers to the Panches, also from Colombian territory, who sold their own children to be eaten. It is said of these anthropophagous tribes that they fattened up the victims intended to serve as food. They ate them boiled with maize in large pots, or, more commonly, roasted them alive on a spit that pierced them through the anus.

2) Ritual cannibalism.

Among the tribes who practice anthropophagy, magic or participative cannibalism is more frequently found.

It is derived from the belief that through the eating of the flesh of an individual comes the most intimate union possible with him, and, therefore, participation in his good qualities: courage, vigor, dexterity, etc., and even in his psychic qualities or his magic power. Hence the sacred repasts, at which were eaten (not infrequently with preceding feasts, homages, and solemn immolation) the personages taken as superior: the chief, the pajé, the brave warriors, the heroes. More commonly, they are personages of their own tribe; this is endoanthropophagy.

• 765 Among some primitives, the cult of the dead came to be impregnated with such a magic concept. In order to provide themselves with the desired qualities that their own ancestors possessed, there appeared the custom of ingesting their ashes with special drinks on the occasion of particular funeral commemorations.

Wallace affirms (o. c. 638) that "The Tarianos and Tucanos, as well as some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is already in a very advanced state of decomposition, and place it in a large pot or oven over the fire, until the soft parts are destroyed, which is done with the

/377/

765 most horrible stench, there remaining at the end only the carbonized bones, which are immediately ground up and reduced [415] to powder. This powder is then placed in various enormous tubs (vats or vessels made out of wood) full of caxiri. The group present then drinks the caxiri until the last drop is finished. They believe that by so doing the virtues of the dead are transmitted to everyone who takes this drink."

171 765 It is a custom that is found among other tribes of America, and even of the Amazon, according to the information from the ancient explorers, for example, among the Warekena of the rivers Içana and Xié, the Šomena of the river Japurá, etc. (cf. "Roteiro /Logbook/" of Pe. Noronha, 222). And, according to what was told us in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, this custom was in force until the end of the last century among the Taryana, until the beginning of this one among the Kubewãna, according to what Koch G. states and, moreover, what the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira told us in 1955, and it is the present practice of the tribes of the river Cauaburi, among whom Pes. Miguel Ghigo and Antônio Goes were present at such events.

[115] The same custom also existed among the Wanãna, we were assured by Tomás Paiva, son of the tuxawa /sic/ of Carurú-cachoeira, and other young Wanãna, but it fell into disuse as early as two generations ago.

765 Among the Kubewãna Koch G. (Z. I. 316) was present at one of these events in the maloca of Namacoliba (?). The Tuxaua disinters the remains of his predecessor, dead for 15 years, and burns it in front of the maloca. The carbonized bones are later cleaned and placed in a pot on the fire day and night for a month, until they are reduced to ashes. These, on the occasion of a solemn caxiri, which is held with a large crowd of people, are pounded, sifted, and mixed with a thick drink, prepared in great abundance with maize. The Tuxaua, with a stick, tries to spread the ashes well in the drink, and afterwards, with a large cuia, distributes it to the men standing around him. It is a drink reserved for the old ones and the fathers and mothers of families, who, although they might not be old, already have three children.

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Koch concludes that at this cannibalistic feast there were dances of masks on which he could verify the following details: the participants wore a band of yellow bark as a stole on the neck, and on the left arm a banner of bark, in the right hand a rhythm tube (VII -- 3, c (3 c)) of imbauba, with paintings representing fish. They advance and back up and, marking time with the right foot, carry on a monotonous song with innumerable repetitions.

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We could seek the origin of this peculiar custom, which is also found among other tropical tribes of South America, teaches Koch, in the belief that the bones that remain after death are the /378/ last place in which the spirits reside. And with the ingestion of the ashes the individuals incorporate in themselves the substance and the spirit of the ancestors.

5. Morality.

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When we deal with this subject, the necessity of some warnings beforehand is imposed:

1st. -- We limit the breadth of the term morality to the common and vulgar meaning, as if it were a synonym of moderation of carnal concupiscence, or further as a synonym of customs in force in sexual relations.

2nd. -- We present, naturally, those points in discrepancy with the norms of Christian morals and which, for this very reason, impress one more.

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3rd. -- Many of the customs that we were able to collect are not in force, obviously, in those groups or among those individuals who are under the influence of the Catholic Missions. But the Missionaries themselves are the first to confess that the modifications of the ancestral customs that they achieve in the field of morality are the fruit of many exhortations, vigilance, and the frequency of the sacraments and religious practices.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large communal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor. The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social segments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The Cubeo culture hero *Kúwai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yuri*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans. As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the complex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of culture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwá* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts.

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. Moreover, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circumstances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They expect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit.

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of specified social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

or tone of voice that he is being flattering or is jesting. In the solemn terms of address that people use on ceremonial occasions, relationships, however, are used correctly.

The stress being on patriliny and on patrilocality, brothers are permanently held together by common residence in the respective degrees of closeness extending outward from hearth, house, community, adjacent community, and the common river as the usual territory of the phratry. Depending upon the degree of physical closeness, brothers share joint economic and ceremonial activities. In any case they share common traditions and the highly significant bond of common exogamy. The Cubeo offer hospitality to any kinsman whether consanguineal or affinal. However, when men are traveling along their own river they are made more comfortable by the thought that they will be stopping over at the house of a "brother." Kinsmen, in contrast to in-laws, are *hiwá*, an apt term that means literally "my group." (*Hi* is the possessive pronoun, *wa* is the suffix indicating the animate collective.)

Brothers of the same mother are, contrary to the traditions of pat-

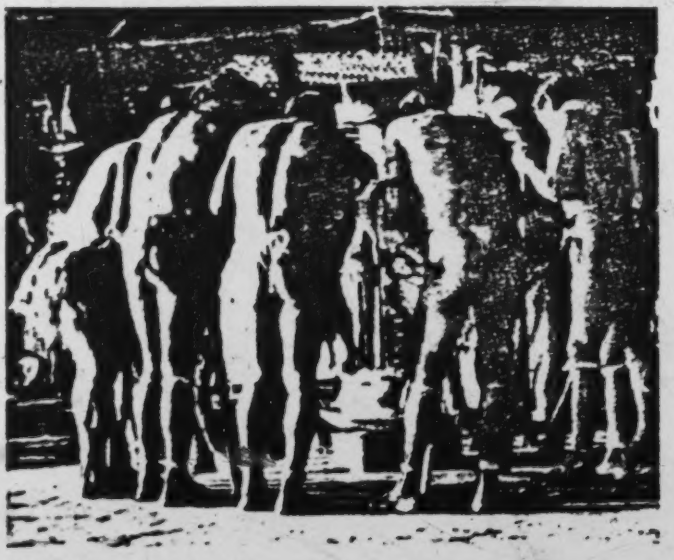

Fig. 5. Sib group at mourning ceremony.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

764 no part. They stood aside and watched, but none wept. But as the last action, before the grave was to be covered over, the men and the older married women seized each boy and brought him forcefully to the grave, pushing him down to his knees and forcing him to touch the coffin. The grave was covered, the earth smoothed, and excess earth removed to leave no hump on the dance floor. Weeping continued for half an hour after the earth had been leveled. Then, abruptly, all mourning ceased and people resumed their customary activities. By noon the children were romping over the burial place.

● 765 In the second phase of mourning, which pertains to the widow [614] (*nomyópeko*) alone, all sib, subsib, and phratry mates arrive to [615] grieve: Sib and subsib mates have an obligation to be the first mourners. Phratry mates who are passing by are obligated to pause and mourn. During this period of mourning the widow greets each arrival and escorts him or her to the burial place, where they both crouch, facing one another, arms about each other's shoulders, heads lowered, and weep. This weeping is ritualized. It begins abruptly and ends abruptly. This abruptness has impressed other observers as a mark of insincerity of grief. This is not the case at all, for mourning must, in Cubeo religious doctrine, become ritualized. One might say, however, that depth of grief and the expression of it need not be related too closely. As we have seen in several other contexts the Cubeo seek to identify an action with its appropriate emotion. Polite and restrained expressions of grief, as in Anglo-Saxon society, are inappropriate. The statement of grief must be a strong one. But as with any statement, it has a beginning and it has an end.

Apart from her obligation to escort visiting mourners to her husband's grave, the widow has no other formal obligations of mourning. She may remarry after one year, although the prospects for her [587] remarriage are actually poor. Even though the Cubeo sense a shortage of marriageable women, they seem to be afraid to marry a woman whose husband has died.

761 The Cubeo narrate the myth that once death was not permanent.
773 A woman had died and later returned to her husband. She pleaded vainly with him to accept her back. If he had taken his wife back, the people say, all the dead would then have been able to return to life.

764 FUNERAL ORATION BY A SON

537 Quickly he died. An evil person, a thoughtless person, poisoned us. And
539 so he died. He who was one of us. He [the murderer] did not care to behold us and so he did it. He [the deceased] did not live through the day. He, the evil one, will also die. He who has the poison, he shall go behind

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

574 576 one. Each guest passes down the full line of the hosts, repeating with each one the standard greetings. Cosponsors of the *unkúndye* are always in the receiving line, with their wives in the parallel line, whereas household heads who have not cosponsored have the option of greeting the guests formally or informally. It would seem that if there were a large attendance the reception would take up a good part of the evening. In practice there is a tendency to curtail the formalities once the drinking has begun, unless the circumstances are particularly sacred. The first guests are received when the sun has set two-thirds of the way to the horizon, or at four o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the first man has passed through the receiving line he is escorted to a bench by a young man of the house and handed a calabash of chicha. By nightfall the guests who have been drinking for a while have become more restless and more boisterous, and the greetings on the receiving line have become more curt and less formal. Younger guests slip by without being greeted and younger hosts slip out of line to take part in the drinking. In this way it often happens that the late arrivals are greeted with little more than a casual handshake by a slightly tipsy and gay host.

574 576 182 796 [765] [831] This seemingly spontaneous deterioration of a pattern of greeting follows, in fact, a characteristic Cubeo ceremonial procedure, which is that every sacred event begins in a slow, solemn, and stately manner and proceeds stage by stage through a steady mounting of tempo until an orgasmic peak is reached, which is then followed by subsidence. I use a sexual figure of speech here because in the prolonged and elaborate mourning ritual which represents Cubeo ritual activity at its most complete, the entire proceedings unquestionably follow the sexual rhythm from courtship to coitus.

574 The women who have come as guests sit in a bunch at the left side of the maloca near the front door. The men sit on two long benches in a V formation opposite the women and also near the door. At the rear of the house sits the first group of dancers, men of the house. After a while the guests begin to move deeper into the house, where each woman visitor stakes out a space along a side wall for her effects and her children. Men form separate clusters. The older men, whose behavior is consistently more restrained, are the [276] last to leave the forward benches. When the women have gone back into the house these elders occupy all the benches and, facing each other in two rows, smoke cigars in a ceremonial manner, waving the smoking cheroot before their faces and nodding pleasantly to one another. The cigars are held in a carved forked holder with a pointed stem that can be stuck into the ground before each smoker,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

10

The Mourning Ceremony

Mourning for the recent dead provides the setting for the most complex and most important of Cubeo ceremonies. These ceremonies, known collectively as *óyne* (weeping),[1] usually take place as late as a year after death, preferably during the dry season when the pupunha palm is ripe. I attended two mourning ceremonies, one among a *Bahúkiwa* subsib and one, a very elaborate affair, among the *Hehénewa*. The last I witnessed from the very beginning.

The *óyne* consists of two parts: a long, three-day section, followed about a month later by a one-day concluding ceremony at which the spirit of the dead is finally evicted from the community.[2] During the first part, masked dancers impersonate many of the familiar beasts, birds, insects, and fish, as well as the mischievous spirits of the Cubeo world. These spirit beings come to mourn, but mainly to turn the people from grief. On this occasion the tribal "grandmother" and her consort, in the form of two great bark trumpets, also arrive to mourn.

Koch-Grünberg, reporting on the same group of *Hehénewa*, says that the trumpets are called *Uménahonkũ* (Dragonfly) (1909, II, 151). He was not aware that the name referred to a *Hehénewa* Ancient. There are several possibilities to be considered in accounting

[1] Also *oiwinu* (weeping affair).

[2] There are also abbreviated one-day ceremonies for women, children, and men of small extended joint families. The three-day ceremony is most appropriate for a headman.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted, refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkü*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however, are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the substance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritualized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimaiwü*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBE

its inevitable crescendo of excitement and disorder, dances and songs are interchanged.

In the course of the ceremonies, the relationship between the nonhuman world of the masked representations and the people, represented by the women, becomes increasingly more intimate, culminating, as we have already noted, in the total intimacy of coitus. The spirit of Cubeo ceremonialism is generally Dionysian. In religious excitement the Cubeo achieve a desired and temporary dissolution of the segmentation and conceptual separatenesses in normal social and religious life.

Koch-Grünberg (1906a), who observed part of an *dyne* in 1903 among the *Hehénewa*, saw in the masked dances two themes, an appeasement of evil spirits and fertility rites. My own information does not agree entirely with this interpretation. It is a fact that several of the masked dancers represent malevolent beings; the jaguar, that is the embodiment of the dreaded sorcerer, the butterfly, that symbolizes the act of sorcery, and the *abúhuwa* or forest monsters, that devour human victims. In addition the masked dancers represent the dung beetle and the vulture, eaters of offal and carrion. These creatures represent to the Cubeo the facts of death. Except for the *abúhuwa*, who are not taken too seriously, the most common agency of death is to the Cubeo a particular human enemy. Evil sorcery can be warded off by particular magical means. The masked dances, however, are not magical means for warding off danger. They are, rather, dramatic rituals whose purpose is to generate a frame of mind in which the fact of death is confronted and made to appear natural and tolerable. By coming to the house as guests, to dance, to sing, to drink chicha, and to "copulate" with women, the masked creatures are made to appear, finally, as a friendly part of the Cubeo world. The malevolent creatures are not singled out, but appear in the context of the whole ensemble of masked dancers.

As for the fertility theme, this has been a cherished cliché of earlier anthropology that promptly labeled any ritualization of sex as "fertility rites." The situation is more complex. The dancers do indeed represent male potency, but the simulated coitus emphasizes rather the carnal aspect of sex, for it is the older women, possessing the privilege of obscenity, whom the masked dancers "attack sexually."

THE MASKS

The dance masks of the Cubeo are made of a white bark cloth called *táwũ* (tree bark), which is also the name by which the masks are generically known.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

different significances in different tribes. The Central Amazon is one center of distribution of ceremonial masks and the Northwest Amazon region is another. In the former region, masks are not of bark cloth but of palm leaves that cover the entire body. The headpieces with human features are cylindrical and of wood. According to Cubeo tradition, they, too, once used palm-leaf masks before being taught by *Kúwai* to prepare bark cloth. Karl von den Steinen, who collected many dance masks from the Xingú River region, never saw them used and guessed that they were mainly ornamental. As among the Cubeo, the Xingú region masks represent animals, beasts, and fish (Steinen, 1894). Along the Araguaia, a tributary of the Amazon, ceremonial masks seem to be part of a secret men's cult and, of particular interest to a Cubeo comparison, they are also used in funeral rites (Krause, 1910, p. 109; Lehmann, 1911). In both parts of the Central Amazon, the Xingú and the Araguaia, the dance songs that are associated with the masks are similar to those of the Cubeo and may have been brought there by Arawakan-speaking peoples who still live there. In the Vaupés River region all the Arawakan tribes share the masked dance cult with Tucanoans. However, among Tucanoan tribes, Uanana and Desana do not have them (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, II, 64).

To the west of the Cubeo, in northeast Peru for example, masked dances are, surprisingly, not found among the Tucanoan-speaking peoples but rather among the Witotoans, such as the so-called Witoto proper, the Bora, and the Muinave. In this same region the Yagua, the Okaina, and the Tucuna, all of whom speak as yet unidentified languages, also have bark-cloth masks (Tessmann, 1930). The nature of their masked dances is similar enough to those of the Cubeo to leave very little doubt that they are historically connected. The masks of these tribes represent animals and demons, as among the Cubeo, and are similarly decorated. However, nowhere in this region are bark-cloth masks used in connection with mourning rites. The Tucuna use masks in girls' puberty rites, while among the Bora masked dances accompany the harvest festival of the pupunha palm. This is a point of historical interest, since the Cubeo mourning ceremony is held during the season when the pupunha palm is ripened and has other "harvest rite" motifs. Because information on masked dances in the Amazon area is so limited, no firm conjecture can be made as to their place of origin. It would seem, though, that the Cubeo have taken ceremonies that in other tribes pertain to harvest festivals, secret men's cults, or girls' first menstrual rites, and have adapted them to funeral rites. Simi-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

larly, they have adapted harvest and demon cult ceremonies to ancestral cult rites. Evidences of religious syncretism are important in interpreting a complex ceremony. Thus, the fact that the mourning rites commonly begin during the pupunha season and the fact that at one point in the ceremonies the men pelt the roof of the house with pupunha fruit to "frighten the women" must be evaluated in the light of the possibility that we are dealing with a portion of a foreign ceremony, incorporated in the structure of the *óyne*. Cubeo ancestral or initiative rites also include "harvest festival" elements. But in these, as in the *óyne*, the harvest theme is a minor one.

MASK REPRESENTATIONS

Dr. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels through the Vaupés region, collected some 50 different mask representations. My own observations along the Cuduiarí covered 30. Altogether, there is now a combined list of 62.[1] Since the masks are intended to portray *all* the living creatures of the Cubeo world the number of masks is potentially vast. No one ceremony uses them all. There are, however, key characters that are most commonly represented. These are Jaguar, Dung beetle, Carrion vulture, Butterfly, Aracú fishes, Eagle, Sloth, Parrot, Dragonfly, Minnows (who are not masked but are an important element in the ceremonial dramatization), *Pyénkü* (a small black fish), Frogs, and a variety of cannibalistic ogres or forest demons, the *Abúhuwa*. Informants would not say which of the masked representations was most important, presumably because invidiousness is, to the Cubeo, in poor taste. Judging, however, by their prominence, I would say that Jaguar, Butterfly, *Abúhuwa*, Dung beetles, Carrion vulture, and Aracú fishes were most important, more or less in that order. Except for the aracú, the esteemed fish of the region, these creatures all have an association with death. The jaguar is, of course, the dreaded sorcerer. The sorcerer is called *yavi* (jaguar) and the Cubeo regard any jaguar as likely to be either a sorcerer or a sorcerer's dog. The morpho butterfly with its beautiful blue wings is a creature of sorcerers and of evil. The information Koch-Grünberg received was that the morpho butterfly (*tatárako*) lives at Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés, where he brews malaria in a calabash and strews it over the land (1909, II, 181). I did not hear this account, but I was told that when a sorcerer is cooking a brew that will kill a victim at a distance the morpho butterfly appears and encircles the pot. Finally, it falls in and is consumed and at that moment the victim dies.

[1] See the end of this chapter.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBE

sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Makálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*keratamówa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kawá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *óyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The song I recorded was:

yavirárü yavirákü [repeated]
yavirárü maníka
yavirárü ya
ho ho ho o ho.

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirákü* means "big jaguar," and *maníka* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiarí River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yavi*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

The mask of Butterfly (*Taídrako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kaviré kaviré* and is not the same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiarí.

Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *mandwa*. The term *maníka* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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a dwarf pair, several pairs of giants, a great owl demon, and two kinds of *abúhuwa*. I saw three *Abúhuwa*. The *Abúhuwa* are made to appear grotesque. Their masks are of coarse brown bark cloth and, unlike any other dancer, they sometimes wear bark-cloth trousers. One Indian said to me rather maliciously, "They are like the white man." One of the *Abúhuwa* not wearing trousers had large flapping breasts of bark cloth and was a "wife." The headpiece has a calabash to form a face painted with human features. The masks are intended to be as grotesque as possible. Since the *Abúhuwa* act clownishly, they induce in the spectators only mock alarm. The *Abúhuwa* have no song of their own and no fixed dance. They are free to improvise. There are two kinds of improvisation: wild when young men impersonate them, and listless and lolling when acted by old men. While the Jaguars act to build up a sense of violence, the *Abúhuwa* work to create disorder. Thus, no masked dancers will enter the women's quarter through the rear or women's door except the *Abúhuwa*. They burst in through the rear door, hopping in short strides as though they were on pogo sticks. They interfere with dances and perform a number of amusing skits.

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The Dung beetles (*Keratamúwa*) are a pair. The masks have a white facepiece with a pair of eyes, or sometimes with no features at all. The body design includes the wide bars of the insect's body flanked by lozenge designs on each side. The headpiece is surmounted by a short hourglass-shaped tube of splints and bark cloth. They dance holding hands. Each holds a short stick. In a dance Koch-Grünberg saw, they pushed along another stick on the ground in imitation, he noted, of their work as cleaners. I saw them holding their short sticks before them like wands. Their dance is a slow movement, forward and back. The songs recorded by me and by Koch-Grünberg are not the same.

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The Carrion vulture (*Kavá*) wears a mask with human features, although Koch-Grünberg saw one that he described as "naturalistic." The main design consists of very large lozenges (to depict the large feathers of the bird) flanked by horizontal bars suggesting outspread wings. The Carrion vulture carries a short stick held against the back of his neck, its ends extending over his shoulders, where his upraised hands hold it in place. The dancers bow gracefully from the waist to suggest the bird's soaring flight.

The Aracú (*Borikakú*) are usually represented in their several varieties. The headpiece is built up to a high peak made of splints covered with bark cloth in an hourglass design. The Aracú dance slowly, in pairs, and hold hands. Each carries a ten-foot pole bear-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765 535 532

ing, like a pennant, bark-fringe streamers. The *Borikakü* usually dances with *Máwayo*, its compatriot, the red-mouthed aracú. In a joint dance they carry a rope ladder (*towándo*) made of three parallel strands of rope into which wooden rungs are set. Attaching the ladder to a roof beam, they climb and descend.

THE MINNOWS

Although the Minnows (*Emíwa*) wear no masks they are definitely part of the dance ensemble; they have a dance step, a song, and a dramatic role. The Minnows are the youngsters and form a school of fish that presumably stands for the youngsters' play pack.[6] They are a boisterous element, moving in and out among the masked dancers. Lacking masks and, accordingly, formal ceremonial status they play a counterpoint of sheer spontaneity to the more solemn dances of the masks. While the role clearly belongs to youngsters, boys are not limited to it. Prepubescent boys do, indeed, wear masks. Those I saw were Butterflies and I was told that a youngster may dance any role but *Yaví*, the Jaguar. The Minnows play on curious shrill whistles. The whistles resemble a short three-tube Panpipe and are mounted at the end of a stick about a yard in length that is hung with three streamers of bark cloth. The dancers wear ankle rattles and dance in a spiral formation, taking two accented steps forward and then two oblique steps back. They hold their whistle sticks pointing up. They have no particular formation, dancing sometimes abreast, sometimes in line, and, alternately, in disorder. The Minnows do all their dancing among the women, who dote on them and ply them with chicha.

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XUDJÍKO AND *XUDJÍKÜ*

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The "grandmother" and her consort are, for the Cubeo, the truly solemn and sacred element of the *óyne*. Represented by giant 15-foot-long trumpets of wound bark that are bound as twins to a single frame, they are taboo to all the women, as are all ancestral horns. The trumpets are capable only of deep, mournful notes and represent ancestral mourning. It is the grandmother, however, who has come to mourn and not the grandparents. The reason for this is that it is a woman's role to be an official weeper. Men may and do

[462]

[6] It will be recalled that in the story of *Kúwai* and the anaconda, the penis of the anaconda is transformed into four minnows that are given to the adulterous wife to eat.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjiko* and her consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies. *Xudjiko*, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikũ* are constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to arrive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated side by side on low stools.

THE SIB UNITS

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The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy. Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity. As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticulous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undeviatingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early, before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

ORGANIZATION OF THE ÓYNE

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As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direction; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it. The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyne* is well adapted to the segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur-

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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765 182 614 [615] ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics, and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disintegrate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the symbolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer. For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the *óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for preparing a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, although when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted by the appropriate song and dance. for while the Cubeo do believe that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

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765 535 152 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE ÓYNE

765 539 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

"*Dekóhũ*[7] has punished you." Then other people came and wrapped the boy in his hammock, put him into a large jar, and buried him in the house. No one wept. After three days an old man began to think what people should do about death. They decided to have an *óyne*. They made dance masks. At first they did not know how to make bark cloth so they made masks of leaves. *Kúwai* came and told them this was not good. In one day *Kúwai* made all the bark-cloth masks for the people. They did not know how to paint the masks and *Kúwai* showed them how. They gathered red pigment and carbon soot, and by midday the masks were all finished. *Kúwai* climbed the duka tree. At the top he cut off the bark and brought it down to make the fringes for the skirt and sleeves. The people then divided the maloca into a men's and women's part. In the men's part an old woman sat down to sing. But soon the real *Xudjiko* came along singing and the people were frightened. But *Kúwai* said, "Don't be afraid. This old woman is *Xudjiko*, who has come to help you weep." The old lady ran away and *Xudjiko* took her place. Then *Kúwai* said, "When other people die do the same thing. Weep for a short time only." He told them to dance and sing. When they had finished *Xudjiko* went away. She no longer comes. Instead they make a horn.

Xudjiko and her consort live at Uaracapuri, the source of the Cubeo. They were the first of the Ancients to die and they were the first to make the bark-cloth masks. The headpieces of the masks are set with feathers; the most prominent vertical feather is said to represent *Xudjikũ* and the most prominent horizontal feather is said to represent *Xudjiko*.[8]

RITUAL THEMES IN THE *ÓYNE*

The five main sets of characters in the *óyne* each represent then one major ritual theme: the women represent weeping; the masks, the concern of the living world for the deceased as well as for the living; the minnows, the boisterous character of young men;

[7] The term means "ghost" or "spirit" but it has here the connotation of "Great Spirit." However, since I did not learn of a Cubeo belief in a Great Spirit the allusion is puzzling, and is to be considered as unexplained.

[8] The apparent inconsistency between this account and the previous one referring to *Kúwai* illustrates two strands in Cubeo mythical thought. One strand, nonancestral, focuses on *Kúwai*, a figure of the Arawakan tribes. The other strand is ancestral and is, perhaps, truly Tucanoan. The Cubeo do not reconcile both strands. The question of which version is produced depends on the context, which may be either general or ancestral.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

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Xudjiko and her consort, the mourning by the primordial ancestors; and the sib units, the solidarity of the phratry in expressing both grief and anger. The dramatizations and mimetic dances present a variety of minor themes, such as menace and hilarity. If one looks at the *oyne* as a whole, however, and follows the sequence of events from their slow and solemn beginning to their conclusion in a simulated sexual orgy and then in a real one, a single main theme emerges, and that is the sexual interplay between men and women. By contrast to the sexual emphasis, the ritual of dealing with the spirit of the deceased seems almost minor and anticlimactic. It is only at the very end, when most guests have departed, that the ghost is dispatched. The climax of the first part of the *oyne* is ritual coitus, just as the climax of the second part is sexual license. We can therefore describe the *oyne* in terms of ritualized sexual sequence.

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Fig. 11. Mourning ceremony, women's entrance.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

The sexual play between men and women begins when the first visiting women arrive and try to pass through the rear entrance of the maloca. The rear door has been removed and the opening barred by poles set in an × over which the women must climb. The Dung beetles, armed with wooden staffs, "guard" the entrance by thrusting at the women as they climb in. The women are burdened with great baskets containing household utensils. Many carry a nursing baby in a sling across the hip, with a walking child clutching the skirt. A woman can make no dignified entrance. Prodded by the Dung beetles she tumbles into the house, clutching her infant, her skirts flying, her utensils scattered. She laughs with excitement, recognizing her fall as a burlesque of the rough play that initiates sexual courtship. At this moment the men are being solemnly and decorously received at the front door. However, after having been tumbled into the house the women reassemble outside, the bars are removed, and they, too, are received in the conventional manner by the host women. They then settle themselves along the left wall of the women's section.

The second molestation of the women comes at nightfall, when little boys rush in among them with a bark *dúpu* (a lizard which supposedly makes the women squeamish) suspended along a sturdy rope. They invite the little girls to join them in a tug of war. The little girls act shy so the boys first play of tug of war among themselves, arranging to fall among the girls. Emboldened, the girls seize the *dúpu* and join the tug of war. Another group of boys also bearing a *dúpu* enters and engages more girls in a tug of war. The purpose of the *dúpu* is to generate excitement among the women. The boys fall upon the little girls, who shriek with laughter and mock alarm while their mothers dodge the thrashing bodies artfully.

The youngsters are followed by an older group of Minnows, not masked, who swarm in noisily, stomping and whistling, dancing close among the women and jostling them. Finally, all the masked dancers, the adult males, enter. The air clouds with dust, and the women's section resounds to the shrieks of laughter, to song, and to the thump of dancing feet and the dry clatter of rattles. Young boys who are sent to sprinkle the floor with moist chicha mash, to settle the dust, pelt one another, and "accidentally" the women, with balls of mash. Throwing chicha mash is, for the Cubeo, a common form of flirtation. Ordinarily the woman throws at a lover. Children do not ordinarily play this game. Thus, the incongruity of being hit with mash thrown by little boys amuses the women enormously. It is the guest women who are flirtatiously singled out at this time. The host

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

The host
765 831 786 women stand apart on their side of the house and serve chicha to the Minnows.

The males leave and the excitement of the women subsides. Through the night, however, the men come to dance among the
765 831 786 535 women. The fence that divides the house into a male and female half is also an emotional dividing line. Dances form on the male side, where they are solemn and subdued. When they pass to the women's side, the dancers are excited. When they go back they revert to calm. It is tempting to interpret the movement of the masked dancers – who look phallic – through the overlapping slit in the wall as symbolizing coitus, particularly since with almost each passage the level of excitement is heightened.

The excitement of the Minnows is allowed to subside in a calm interval. *Máwayo* (the red-mouthed aracú), and *U* (sloth) do a slow dance, holding long poles with a crook at one end which they suspend from a roof beam and upon which they swing. The Sloth always falls. He lies on the ground kicking a leg and making feeble gestures of arising, only to fall again. But *Máwayo* is slow and graceful and swings gently on his pole. The Sloth arises, and the dancers cross poles and gracefully dance out.

[532] They are all followed by the Minnows. Each Minnow now carries a long pole that is joined to all the others by a string from which dangles a carved wooden bird. They do a circle dance with the bird in the center. As they circle, stamping strongly to accent the beat on the right foot, they jostle the women, moving in upon them to enclose them in the circle. The Jaguars now rush in, wilder than ever,
[857] leaping about among the women and falling upon them. They are followed by the boys with the *dúpu* on its string. The boys ensnare the young girls in the *dúpu* string. Now two masked dancers come in with long flaming broomsticks. They dash about among the women, swinging the flaming fibers among them. The women scatter in noisy panic, kicking over baskets and dishes. The attack by flame excites the Jaguars as well, and they whirl around among the women in sheer frenzy. As they flee this new menace, the women say, "The
[534] jaguars are angry. They will soon attack people." The Jaguars, however, are no menace to the men. One climbs on top of the partition and blows noisily into his jug horn, and another climbs a roof beam overlooking the women, both in a simulated attack upon them.

The Jaguars withdraw, and the next entrance is again a quiet one. Two Spiders, slowly and gracefully holding a long string from the middle of which hangs a feather, dance toward one another, winding up the string until they are face to face at the feather and

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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then unwinding it. They repeat this over and over, joining and parting. Watching this, the women regain their composure.

When the Spiders leave, the wives of the mourning sib are led into the men's side. Here, in pitch blackness, they sit in a circle around the ceremonial regalia of the deceased and weep. The men are no longer in masks; the masks are on poles and shield the women from the *Xudjiko* horns, whose low, mournful notes, that sound like a bull-roarer, accompany the weeping. [533]

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This most solemn interlude is followed by an entrance of all the men. Previously the masks had danced only with their own kind. After midnight all the masks form one line. Each man carries a lighted taper. They circle the house several times, singing the same song. They re-enter by the front door and pass immediately through the slit to the women's side, still bearing their flaming torches. A number of the dancers suddenly move forward, and seizing the chief female mourner by the hair, arms, and legs, drag her violently across the floor from side to side. They do the same to other female mourners but with less violence. The themes of sexuality and of hostility are intertwined in the *óyne* the way they are in daily life. Sex is always associated with the out-group. The parallel seems very clear between the ritual of "marriage by capture" and the ritualization of sex and aggressiveness in the *óyne*. [182]

From this moment the dancers are constantly among the women. Throughout the entire second day, dancers move in and out—one group leaving as another enters. Masked dancers fall upon the women, roll over them on the ground, or jostle them. The men say, "We are looking for *Míavi* [Eagle]." The jostling, which seemingly excites the women, is, however, largely formalized. No dancer touches a woman with his hands, and he makes the jostling appear to be accidental. The young boys, however, who are sexually aroused by this play, take advantage of the confusion and of the women's excitement to fall among them and to clutch at their breasts and thighs. [152]

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The third day begins with a series of comic enactments for the benefit of the women. In one, the *Abúhuwa* carry a basket of bark-cloth balls called *wakúiu*, which they throw to one another, among the women, and then dive after. This violent buffoonery is counterpointed by a solemn dance of men, not in masks, who hold a long pole before them and move down the corridor in a slow tread singing the mournful refrain *kamiré, kamiré*. These dancers leave, and another *Abúhukū* comes forward. He carries a bark-cloth coconut (*dudúki*). He pantomimes futile efforts to break it, studying it closely and tapping it against his head. He throws it on the ground among

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBE

765 536 the women and dives clumsily after it, rolling among the women and over them. He recovers it and tries to crack it in his mouth, but of course he is wearing a mask, and finally he examines it with a marvelously executed air of puzzlement and dejection. The women have been so dazed by now that the comic virtuosity of this "clown" does [152] not draw the expected laughs. The *Abūhukū* leaves and there is a respite. The women stir about and look after their children, and it seems as though the emotional gradient, having been broken in its upward ascent, has dropped to the most ordinary level.

765 831 786 525 But this quiet interlude is short. At midmorning all the masked dancers storm noisily among the women in a dance called the *hwananiwa* (wild peccary). They throw themselves upon the women, forcing them to the ground and to the copulatory position. Three or four men cover a woman. The dancers rise again to dance in sheer frenzy, careening about the room, shrieking and falling again upon another woman. But even though their excitement seems more feverish than ever, the men still do not lay a hand upon a woman. They choose for their attentions only the older women. The [887] older women among the Cubeo are licentious, and they behave at this time as though they have become sexually aroused. They laugh and shriek and reach for a man's thighs. The daughters observe this spectacle of their mother's sexual excitement with evident dismay and great interest. The mothers shrilly command their daughters to run away and so escape sexual molestation. At the command to run they begin to leave, but they come back to watch. Again, the very young [152] boys who share this masculine license are carried away by sexual excitation and lustfully attack the women, the wives of their phratry mates. The women "fight them off" with the standard courting resistance and succeed in inflaming them all the more. Not all the masked dancers join this revelry in the same spirit. Some men, the older ones in particular, are restrained, treating the dance symbolically, and some are simply shy and only brush lightly against the 765 182 152 831 786 535 women. The point of view is that of symbolic frenzy rather than of sheer unrestraint. The mastery of this mood is surely a difficult one, because the women, who are a laity, are under no compulsion to discipline their feelings. This is presumably the Cubeo ceremonial conception – pitting masculine symbolically controlled behavior against the spontaneous emotionality of the women. This interplay between emotional form and substance, so to speak, adds spontaneity and emotional spice to the ceremony but always within the framework of form. That the youngsters should succumb to simple lust in this licentious dance is, to be sure, a spontaneous consequence of the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really provides the desired emotional level for this stage of the ceremony.

The *hwananiwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is followed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (caiman), and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the legends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwai* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeo and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beasts. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth.

The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alligator." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They stir and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* — the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man.

The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the uncontrolled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note.

The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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536 recognizing the symbolic distinction between an alligator and a jaguar, do not throw it back at the men. Then the Jaguars kill a deer, who is represented by a masked dancer. The Jaguars dance wildly about their "victim," blowing loudly into their jugs. The victim writhes and falls agonizingly to the ground, kicking up a leg, moving an arm, and then lying inert. Other dancers, his "comrades," come to look at him. They lift his arm and it falls back. They lift his leg and it falls back. They sniff his body and murmur *ttt tttt*. Now the Carrion vultures come, with their short staffs held against the back of the neck. They dance about the victim singing the jaguar song. They buzz about the victim and bend down and kiss him. The Jaguars also kill *Pampámibo* (a frog), and the procedure is repeated.

This dramatization of the modes of violent death – the killing of the alligator, the lustful adulterer, the killing of the jaguar, the dread killer himself, and the killing of the weaker and defenseless game animals – restores the mood to one of sobriety. The dance of the Carrion vultures has a note of pathos that is not lost on the women.

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[857] When these sequences are done there is an intermission. The boys busy themselves with the fabrication of great bark-cloth penises. The phallic dance that is to follow is known as the "dance of the potent penises" and is under the jurisdiction of the young men. As they complete the penises, the boys begin a sexual play with them, thrusting at one another in a hilarious burlesque of coitus. It is all play, in a spirit of gaiety and with much noise.

765 During this interval of male sexual play, that takes place in the men's part of the house, the women on their side are mourning in the conventional fashion, arms about one another's neck, faces together, crouching in a mournful circle.

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786 On this, the third day, the women's section is not entered again by the men until late in the afternoon. Then the entire corps of masked dancers dances in, each man carrying a sprig of leaves with which he beats the women, centering attention on the elderly. Some strike with such force as to make the women scream with pain. Others brush a woman's shoulder lightly. They then dance into the men's section and whip the hosts, but perfunctorily, since the real interest is in the women, from whom they should draw blood. The Jaguars enter briefly among the women. They leave and all the masked dancers – the *nowánparatowü* (potent penises) – come in. Each holds a bark-cloth phallus before him with both hands. The dancers thrust at the older women, some doing so very mildly, and others, the younger men, forcing the phalluses between a woman's legs. The women again shriek at their daughters to escape. As before, the girls

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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dart about in confusion, running as though to escape, but returning to witness the sexual "attack" on their mothers. The shrieking women lift up the bark-fringe skirts of the men, and recognizing a dancer by the design on his thighs, shout out his name. This seems to be a spontaneous gesture, for the sexual attack as the Cubeo dramatize it is, after all, symbolic and abstract. The dancer, to be sure, is attacking a particular woman, but he does so in an impersonal manner. The woman, however, does not accept sexual interest in an impersonal manner.

The symbolic coitus is decidedly less spirited than the previous onslaughts against the women. There is less body contact and, except for a few of the more aggressive younger men, the entire interlude has the appearance of a dance and not of an orgy.

[838] [857]

The phallic dance concludes the first sexual sequence at this ceremony. Outside the house the boys conduct a homosexual play with the bark cloth phalluses, but this does not seem to be a part of the ceremony proper. One month later the mourning series is completed at a two-hour dance, at the end of which the masks are burned and, as the ultimate act, men take women, the wives of their phratry mates, into the bush and copulate, couples changing partners as often as they like. While there is a one-month interval between the phallic dance and the actual sexual license, the final act of copulation is still part of the sexual sequence, just as the final dances and the burning of the masks are also part of the ceremonial sequence involving masks.

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The final sexual event in this ritual sequence is to be understood as somewhat more than sexual consummation. It is also an act of mass adultery, as the Indians are only too well aware. In this act, the adulterous longings of the people are given expression without any real suppression of the stormy feelings of jealousy that adultery provokes among them. The adulterous act adds still another modality of sexual passion.

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The entire sexual sequence is very close to Cubeo life, even to the point of including the homosexual play of the young boys, which in Cubeo life is also only a byplay in the formal sexual life of the community. The very young girls receive only playful teasing attention by their male age mates. The younger married women – the sexually most desirable – are almost entirely ignored during the play phases of the sexual sequence. But in the final act it is they who are taken and not the older women. It is for this reason, too, that I regard the final sexual event as a provocative act of adultery, for the adultery of

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

THE MEN'S SIDE

In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

The *óyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjíko* and her consort.

On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenádox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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way, and within the darkness of the house they remove their masks [535]
and wait for the others to enter in the same manner. Assembled in the
house, the men listen for the sound from the canoe landing that will [574]
announce the arrival of *Xudjiko* and her consort. Bearing their
masks over their arms, they file out silently and form a double line
along the path from the canoe landing to the plaza.

Four men bring the great trumpets by canoe. Watched by the 765
others, they carefully lift out the trumpets noiselessly. When the 534
trumpets are on land the watchers whisper, "Here comes our grand- 574
mother." Two bearers mount the forward ends of the trumpets on
their shoulders and two in the rear are the players. The trumpets
sound their first low, mournful notes, and the watchers put on their
masks, form a file, and escort the "grandmother" into the house. A
trumpeter accompanies with a rattle.

The "grandmother" is first set in the very center of the dance floor 765
of the male section, and as the trumpets are played by two men, 533
the masks circle "her," their songs blending with "her" lamentation. 534
Again the women behind their barrier respond with their own
higher-pitched and human wailing. After a brief interval the "grand-
mother" is moved to her permanent place at the left, where a frame-
work to receive the trumpets has been installed. The rest of the night 765
is devoted to the dancing of the masks and the lamentation of the 535
"grandmother." The men take turns in sounding the trumpets. Occa-
sionally they rest and drink chicha and smoke. They dance on the
plaza, in the men's section and in the women's section. Whenever they [202]
enter the house they strike the doorway loudly and spur the women
to renewed wailing. Shortly after midnight the men drape the door- [789]
way with brown bark cloth as a barrier against evil sorcery. At dawn
they remove the drape and hang it over the inner partition. It will
be used for making the *dúpu*, the phalluses, the alligator, and other
paraphernalia.

As day breaks they prepare for a third admission, that of sibmates 765
who will pay their respects to the dead. The oblong box of plaited 614
palm fibers in which a man keeps his ceremonial possessions is
brought out and set in the center of the dance floor. These are the
ceremonial belongings of the deceased and at this time they repre-
sent him. Among the *Hehénewa*, where the deceased had been the
father of the headman, the box, as well as a tray containing the full
Cubeo ceremonial regalia – feathers (*mápena*), quartz cylinder pend-
ant, jaguar-tooth and aramadillo-vertebrae girdles – were laid out.

The sons and grandsons form a circle around these representations
of the dead. Each carries in his left hand either a shotgun or a heavy 765

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765 staff as a weapon. They pose with head bowed, both hands resting
765 on the weapon. The chief mourner holds a rattle hung with a feather
53 and eagle down in his right hand. He begins the formal oration, an angry declaration denouncing the unknown sorcerers who have killed his father. As he speaks, in a hoarse, changing voice, he swings the rattle in a vertical arc, pivoting on his left foot, facing one mourner and then the next. His gestures are vigorous and his pivot is crisply executed. He swings the rattle upward almost into the face of the mourner whom he is addressing. He has hardly completed the circle when each of the mourners, swinging his right arm in an arc, turns to a companion and recites a similar angry declaration. The companion to whom he turns also pivots to face him, awaiting his return to reply. This part of the ritual is executed as a ballet. The declaimer is poised with his right foot forward, waiting for his partner to pivot and face him, and not until the partner has executed his pivot does he begin his declaration. The headman, having initiated these hoarse and angry harangues, turns his attention to the ceremonial remains of the deceased. His head bowed, he gently shakes the rattle over them and utters a sad lament that he has lost a father. After an interval of angry shouting the mourners re-form the close circle, bow their heads, and weep. They pause to blow their noses, wiping their hands on the fringes of the masks that have been hung nearby.

765 Other members of the sib are not part of this close mourning circle.
614 They put on their masks and dance, circling the mourners. The
535 *Xudjiko* trumpets are silent because they are sounded only by the
[533] men of the household of the deceased, who are now part of the circle of mourners. The mourning of the men signals the women to begin again their wailing, their piercing lamentations rising clearly above every other angry and mournful sound.

765 This interval of mourning lasts some 15 minutes. The ceremonial property of the deceased is then removed and the men rest, drinking
[535] chicha and smoking. Dancing resumes after half an hour. At dawn
[789] the Jaguars cut off the brown bark-cloth trimmings from their jug trumpets and pass them among the men to chew. This will guard them, they say, against sorcery from their phratry mates, who will arrive as mourners late in the afternoon.

765 Later in the morning the men put up crossbars to "guard" the
276 women's entrance. After this *mihí* is prepared. A sibman staggers in with a bundle of the narcotic vine. *Mihí*, as always, is carried in the ritual manner, one of its features being a representation of great weight. The bearer bends low, raising his knees high, and circles the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBE.

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men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled 276
once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihí*. He prepares a quart, which is considered a great deal.

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The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already 532
been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the [276]
last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies [273]
to *mihí*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits [574]
not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives. 765

The first guests to arrive are the Satellites – members of the sib – 574
who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of [614]
the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional [431]
Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each 765
Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side 574
wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the 576
house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head. Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly delivered dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound *ee ee ee ee* followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihí* is brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoulder. The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted at the rear door by female hosts.

While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing 765
the Jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat 574
for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, 789
since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *óyne* in particular, as 754
a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that characterizes the early stages of the *óyne*.

After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to 765
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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765 574 [532] [302] After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to complete the decorations on the masks they have brought and to apply personal body decorations.

The sibs of the phratry arrive in late afternoon. These later arrivals are greeted by the hosts wearing dance masks. When they sight their guests they sally out of the house dancing and singing in 765 574 a winding line around the front plaza. The guests respond by donning their own masks and dance up the path, each pair of masked 535 614 dancers singing its own song. They mingle with the hosts. All complete a circle about the dance plaza, the hosts dance into the house, and the guests continue dancing outside.

765 574 535 Two Butterflies from among the guests approach the open doorway. Each in turn strikes the side wall violently with his rattles. From within Sloth and *Mávayo* thrust their long poles out at them and "beat them off." The Butterflies rejoin the others. Suddenly all the dancers rush the doorway and skirmish with the spirits within. Those with staffs thrust them at the attackers or use them to ward off a thrust. Those with rattles shake them violently. The "attack" is noisy and spirited. Beaten off again, the attackers re-form their dance line and dance to the rear of the house, seeking an entry through that quarter. But here the doorway is blocked with crossbars and guarded by Dung beetles, who thrust their long lances at the "attackers." Again the attacking dancers retire and resume their dance at the front of the house. After a while they take off their masks, hanging the garments on poles that have been set for this purpose along the front walls. Now, as humans, each strikes the side wall violently with his staff and enters the house. This entry is ritualized. The men flit in swiftly and silently on tiptoe, whispering *t t t i i i*, and circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased.

The male hosts have formed themselves into an outer semicircle facing the guest dancers. They lean on their staffs and look on grimly as the dancers complete the circle; then they whistle. At this the [537] dancers come to an abrupt halt in a semicircle facing the hosts and launch into the orations already described. The speeches are short, and the men change partners often, each moving out of position when necessary, or leaning past a companion at his side. After a few minutes the guests resume the flitting dance. They circle clockwise, whispering *iii iii iii*, and having completed one circle, dance counterclockwise and whistle. Alternating between clockwise and counter- [622] clockwise and whispering and whistling, they complete several circles led by their headman, who carries a rattle in his right hand. During this dance only the host headman remains standing and facing the dancers; the others retire to the benches set behind the dance

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEU

masks and drink chicha. The guests finally stand in a circle around the ceremonial remains of the deceased. With heads bowed and leaning on their guns or staffs before them they chant a lamentation, their leader shaking his rattle slowly. They weep, the *Xudjiko* trumpets pick up the lament, and the women join in. They repeat this performance with little variation three times. After the third, they break ranks and face their hosts again in the postures of the angry harangue. Finally each guest breaks away and rushes toward the open doorway brandishing his weapon outside and shouting defiance at the sorcerer or other enemies of the phratry.

Concluding this phase of mourning, the guests leave the house so as to make still another entrance, this time to be received as men with the formal salutations at the doorway.

Guests from others sibs arrive by maloca groupings, each group of eight or ten men acting out the same ritual. Each group appears in three roles: as spirit beings who are repulsed, as generalized mourners who act out grief and anger, and finally as kinsmen, each of whom is received individually and with a kinship greeting as he makes his final entrance to the house. When they are greeted as kinsmen, the ceremonial remains of the deceased have been removed; they are welcomed at this point with a calabash of chicha and with *mihi*.

There are some minor variations in this pattern of greeting. At the *Hehénewa óyne* one group "attacked" with a barrage of pupunha thrown against the roof and the front walls. This "attack" had, however, another side to it. In part it was an attack and some of the fruit was thrown violently through the door, where the defenders threw it back at the masked attackers. But punpunha is also regarded at this time as an offering for the women of the house -- just as it is during the ancestral whipping ceremony, when the house is showered with fruit by the ancestral spirits. The sound of pupunha fruit striking the roof frightens the women.

This dualism of assault and of offering is carried out in somewhat different form in the course of the ritual receptions to the house. The first instance is when the guests arrive as masked dancers or as spirit beings. They are received first in a friendly way, joining in a dance with their hosts. Then the two groups separate and engage in ritual attack and defense. In the second entrance, as generalized human beings, there are a number of alternations between aggression and friendliness and between anger and grief. Even the circle dance around the ceremonial remains of the deceased has a gentle clockwise motion symbolized by the whispered *t t t t* followed by a more

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

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violent counterclockwise motion for which the symbol is the loud
[535] whistle.

On the women's side a parallel form of greeting, but with a minimum of ritual, is going on at the same time. The greetings among the women are, in many respects, a counterpoint to the greetings among the men. I have already mentioned how the women are made to tumble into the house so that their entrance is as ludicrous as the entrance of the men is somber. However, having picked herself up and having straightened out her belongings, each woman is greeted
[561] in a file by the host women. Like the men, the women are grouped by maloca and in order of their husbands' age seniority. Having been
765 greeted with the conventional handshake, the group of hostesses and
574 the group of guests face each other and shout angrily at one another;
152 these shouts are not accusations or recriminations, but expressions
[576] of anger at the enemy who has killed the deceased. Two women who have been facing one another in postures of anger suddenly fall to a squatting position, each with an arm around the other's shoulder, drop their heads, and weep. Women who are nursing babies seem

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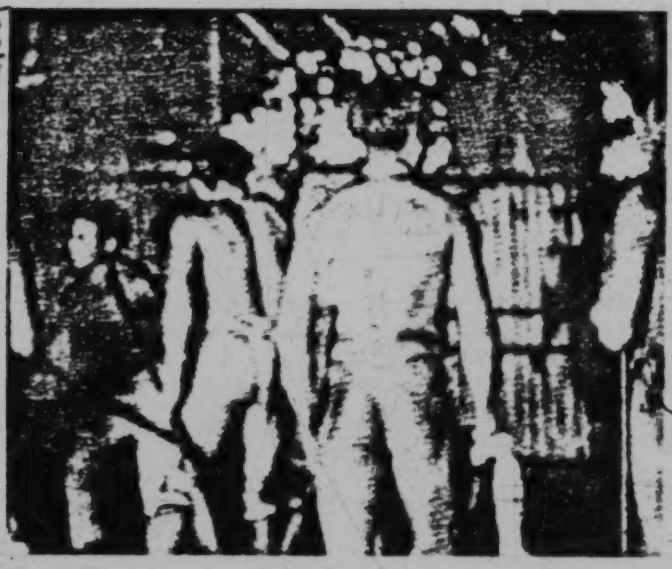

Fig. 12. Angry declamation at mourning ceremony.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

able to carry through what are abrupt and violent gestures of mourning without disturbing the infant's feeding. In the midst of what seems to be an uncontrolled paroxysm of grief the mother adjusts her infant to a more comfortable position. The infants seem undisturbed. The women are wandering mourners, seeking out new partners with whom they exchange shouts until, with their voices hoarse and cracked, they crouch down together and weep.

FORMAL RITUALISTIC ELEMENTS

The dramatization of emotion is, I believe, the central theme of the *óyne*, as it is, indeed, the central theme of all Cubeo ceremonials. In the *óyne*, the dramatization of emotion is conducted most directly in the sexual interplay between men and women and in the variety of enactments, as in a pageant, of scenes of emotional significance. Dramatization is never the most direct evocation of emotion; it occurs only in the *óyne*, which of all Cubeo ceremonials demands the fullest emotional orchestration. In other ceremonies emotionality is either generalized, in the sense that one acquires a special lift from drink, narcotics, and dance, or else the emotional range is more limited, as in the ancestral cult initiation. The *óyne* provides for many modes of emotional stimulation. A secondary mode is physiological stimulation, which relies upon chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. On physiological stimulation I have only to add the note that in the *óyne* indulgence is greater and the state of frenzied excitement is sought quickly.

Chicha consumption at the *óyne* is prodigious. Months of labor go to the preparation of manioc mash, which is then allowed to ferment fully in combination with sugar cane extract. Men eat little or nothing during the three days of the *óyne*. They are nourished on chicha and blunt their hunger and fatigue with coca. The *Hehénewa* also bought *aguardiente* for guests who could not get drunk on chicha quickly enough.

The traditional Cubeo attitude toward drink and intoxication is religious, not secular. They do not drink for mere pleasure or to overcome anxiety. Secular drinking is for them distasteful, and it is rare to see an Indian drunk except at a ceremony. In the white settlement of Mitú it is the white man who is drunk and the sober Indian who watches him with amazement. Intoxication is a sacred state. In the *unkúndye*, drinking leads from passivity to quarreling. In the *óyne* the emotions unleashed by intoxication are channeled more directly.

5. Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765 273 152 Drinking at the *óyne* is disciplined and follows the emotional gradient of the ceremony. On the first day, which is intramural, the mood is somber and little chicha is taken. On the second day, when guests arrive and the mood is anger-grief, the drinking is still slow. [574] Guests receive the welcome offering of chicha after their third entrance into the maloca and thereafter they drink during all intervals between dances. Formal drinking begins two hours before sundown. 765 273 276 152 The moment is signaled when the hosts brings in *mihí*, the symbol of intoxication. Only the older men take the potion. Thereafter all drinkers are free to grow excited. The elders remain restrained, however, since it is their role to license the excitement of others. They describe their own intoxication as an inner state. They feel a change in mood, they see color visions, but they do not overstep to overt excitement. That is the role assigned to the younger men.

766 273 276 152 562 The rate of drinking and the shift in mood gains momentum in the course of the interplay with the women. Women drink as much as men, but do not take *mihí* and do not get drunk. Their excitement is imparted to them by the men. Thus, the men drink to initiate excitement; the women drink so that they may react. When the men are not among them the women sit passively among their young, the dogs, and their household goods.

765 276 [778] *Mihí* has magical power which the bearers portray dramatically. They pretend to stagger under its weight because *mihí* has power to fell a man. The people I asked did not know, however, why the bearer of *mihí* pranced with his torso bent forward and his knees kicked up high. The bearers whisper *he he he* and then whistle. These are the sounds of spirits and they are the same as the sounds made by the guests when they circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased. A bundle of *mihí* vines is laid with the ceremonial remains during this dance. From a roof beam at the exact center of the house, where it overlooks equally the male half and the female half, hangs a vulture figure. The body is an ear of corn, the head is carved of wood, and the spreading wings and tail feathers are made of old basket fragments. The bird hangs like a mobile. It is said to be "drunk" on *mihí*, and it presides over the *óyne* to give the proper spirit of intoxication. The vulture of intoxication is the patron, so to speak, of the *óyne*.[9] Mobiles of other birds are also hung about the house, as are painted images of fish. I did not learn the significance of these.

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[9] The vulture is thought of here not so much in the sense of its being a carrion eater, but for its quality of soaring. Compare *kaiá* (vulture) with *kaiáno* sky.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

The first phase of the *óyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjíko* is sounded. At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *óyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaindüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, *kenadjü marié kenadjü pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *óyne*, and the following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disenter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963.
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUB

765 Koch-Grünberg had described to him in 1903 (1909, II, 152). I ob-
775 served the *Hehénewa* headman, with the older men of the sib around
266 him, pounding bones in a mortar and adding the substance to an
114 urn of chicha. When they saw me they angrily ordered me away. Later, informants denied knowledge of what they may have been doing. Koch-Grünberg, however, was told by the *Hehénewa* headman that the limb bones of someone who had died some 15 years earlier were cooked for about a month, reduced to ash, and then added to a special corn chicha which was then taken by all old men and women and by parents of more than three children. I did not observe the drinking of this chicha, nor did I hear of the custom during my stay among the *Bahúkiwa*.

765 Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in
824 the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. There-
783 after, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for
775 at least another generation.

532 MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE *ÓYNE*

765 Anthropomorphic Beings or Demons
776

1.	*Makuko*	(K-G)[a]	A bearded dwarf, represented by husband and wife. They lure hunters from their game and pantomime shooting a bark-cloth monkey with a blowgun.
2.	*Kohako*	(K-G)	Husband and wife giants who carry clubs and strike down hunters with them.
3.	*Hailako*	(K-G)	A giant who carries two heavy clubs, one in each hand.
4.	*Palutxiko*	(K-G)	A giant.
5.	*Anauako*	(K-G)	A giant.
6.	*Abúhuwa*	(K-G;IG)[b]	Forest demons.
7.	*Hokoaboxoko*	(K-G)	Giant tree demons.

[a] Reported by Koch-Grünberg.
[b] Personal observations by the author.

171 fine powder and mixed in several large conches (vats made of hollow trees) of
184 caxiri; this is drunk by the assembled company till all is finished; they believe
266 that thus the virtues of the deceased will be transmitted to the drinkers" (Wal-
lace, 1870, p. 498).

765 Endocannibalism has also been reported by Coudreau, who has observed that the Tucanos and Tarianas no longer follow this practice, which he attributed only to the Cubeo. "Ce ne sont plus aujourd'hui les Tarianas et les Tucanos qui boivent la cendre de leurs morts, comme le disait Wallace. Ce sont les seuls Cobhéwa. Les gens de cette peuplade enterrent leurs morts; puis, quand les chairs sont pourries, ils lavent les os, les dessèchent, les brûlent, les pilent et, dans les dabucuris, mêlent cette poudre, précieusement conservée, au cachiri avec lequel ils boivent, en s'enivrant, les cendres des leurs ancêtres dont ils s'incorporent ainsi toute l'énergie. Cette étrange boisson leur procure des délices extatiques ou furieux" (Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 173).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUB

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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

Mammals

18.	*Yavi*	(K-G;IG)	The jaguar.
19.	*Nyamáko*	(K-G;IG)	The deer.
50.	*U'*	(K-G;IG)	The sloth.
51.	*Pamúrũ*	(IG)	The armadillo.
52.	*Kapáro*	(IG)	The monkey.
53.	*Hwami*	(IG)	The peccary.

Reptiles and Amphibians

54.	*Ila*	(K-G)	The yararaca snake.
55.	*Ba ho ho ho*	(K-G)	A small frog.
56.	*Umáua*	(IG)	Frogs.
57.	*Pampámibo*	(IG)	Frogs (another variety).
58.	*Pa'áwa*	(IG)	Small frogs.
59.	*Niahũ*	(IG)	The alligator.

Unidentified

60.	*Pihare*	(IG)	
61.	*Tonkahũ*	(IG)	
62.	*Imihihũ*	(IG)	

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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Religion

The religion of the Cubeo has no gods and therefore no worship. Anthropomorphic beings are plentiful in the form of forest monsters, fish, beasts, birds, insects, not to mention the *Bekûpwänuwa* and *Kûiwai* the transformer. But the Cubeo do not approach these beings and spirits in a supplicatory mood. They establish, rather, a mode of communication, of intercourse, with them, in the course of which specific results, the warding off of dangers, and the positive benefits of body growth and sib growth are expected to follow. Religious attitude must almost inevitably be modeled upon the experiences of relations among people. In Cubeo social life, as we have seen, one neither commands, nor submits. People enter willingly into a relationship that will accomplish a specific end. A social relationship among the Cubeo, as we have repeatedly noted, demands a specific atmosphere of feelings, sentiments, emotions. To the Cubeo nothing of consequence can result from an act divorced from its proper mood. In precisely the same way, the Cubeo seek to establish a relationship with a supernatural being.

The Ancients, to recapitulate what has already been described in another context, join the people in drinking, dancing, smoking, and chewing coca. They come to whip the boys and men to make them grow and to give them potency and force in the initiation rites. They are bathed with in growth "magic." As *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikû* they come to mourn for the sib dead. In the mourning ceremony they are invoked by name only and do not appear. The invocation chant, how-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

776 mythical fish with a mouth that has the lower jaw of the puño and
825 an upper jaw shaped like the beak of a parrot. Should a menstruant enter a canoe he will break it to bits. The Cubeo do not say that their fish ceremenials are for the purpose of promoting success in fishing. Their view rather is that when they are happy with a catch of fish they enjoy dancing with them. Increase magic may underlie the Cubeo relationship with fish. But if it does they either no longer recognize the instrumental motive or else they refuse to acknowledge it.

825 As with the *Bekûpwãnwa*, the Cubeo relationship with the animal
771 world is largely one of establishing proper social relationships. In such relationships compulsion is out of place. In the animist world view of the Cubeo the entire animal world is communicant with the world of man. Some relationships, as has been noted, are dangerous, and therefore stand out in a special category. Among the dangerous relationships is that of the jaguar. Since the jaguar is identified with the shaman, it is more suitably discussed under the heading of shamanism. There are birds, such as a parrot called *bauvéko* and marúku-monkeys, who are feared because they are foretellers of misfortune. For the rest, and with the exceptions noted previously, the relationship between man and the animal world is casual and friendly. On the river, as we have already observed, the Indians address birds and fish by name. Their intense interest in domesticating animals of almost every variety as household pets must also be considered as part of the effort at communication of a concrete form.

825 The birds, *míwa*, are friendly spirits. They emerged, it is said,
776 from Uaracapurí with the Ancients and were originally in human form. The birds are the planters of fruits and berries and are their
[273] guardian spirits. They are appropriately at the same time the guard-
[532] ian spirits of intoxication, a bird with a corn-cob body and wings of
● [765] a manioc tray fragment presiding in that capacity over the *óyne*.

The luminary *aryá*, who is both sun and moon, is a more distant
776 anthropomorphic spirit.[1] The Cubeo interest is in the moon, the li-
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[1] The doctrine of *aryá* as both sun and moon is mythological only. It does not mean that the Cubeo do not distinguish clearly between these two bodies. *Aryá* refers to the anthropomorphic being whose activities are actually in moon form; it refers also to direction. East is called by the Cubeo *aryádaino* (*aryá* [the sun] is coming). West correspondingly is expressed as "*aryá* is going." To express time, however, the sun is referred to by the particular name of *handwũkakũ*, an anthropomorphic form that has, however, no anthropomorphic connotation to my knowledge. *Handwũ* refers to time in the abstract, while *handwũ korika* (sun in the center) means "midday." All specific times are given by describing the position of the sun in the sky. The word for "day" or "daylight" is *hãñan* and is apparently based upon the verb *roót ha* (to see). The Cubeo disclaim any anthro-

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SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

POLARITY - COMPLEMENTARITY

The complementary role of conceptual opposites is, of course, a universal type of cultural patterning. Cultural distinctions occur in variations of the pattern. Under any circumstances, the general pattern of polarity-complementarity produces a mode of order and hence of social cohesiveness. In Cubeo life, polarity-complementarity is very strongly expressed. Its most prominent area is the male-female polarity. From a purely sociological point of view, the male-female opposition would seem to be a reflection of the patriliny-patrilocality of the sib, in which the women are outsiders as wives and outsiders-to-be as sisters and daughters, while the men are the permanent group. To this basic social condition the Cubeo add a variety of symbolic modes of opposition. Those that have been described include opposing but complementary roles in all ritual. In the ancestral cult and in mourning ceremonies these distinguishing roles of men and women are very sharply delineated. In ritual, men supply order, while women give spontaneity. Since female spontaneity in ritual is evidently complementary to masculine formalism, it is to be understood that we are dealing here with a somewhat dramatized rather than with a "pure" spontaneity. Generally speaking, and using the Durkheimian categories broadly, the men represent the sacred side of life and the women the profane. However, in the case of the Cubeo the female as profane is a complement of the sacred and not altogether outside of it.

From a more secular point of view, the male-female distinction can be expressed in terms of a collectivist-sectionalist dichotomy: the men represent the collectivism of the sib, the women the sectionalism of the individual household. The contrast between the gregariousness of the male play pack and the solitariness of the little girls is perhaps the most pointed demonstration of this distinction. Another illustration of this pattern is in the form of the dance in which the girls slip under the linking yokes of the men's arms, occupying, so to speak, interstices of the dance pattern. The collectivist-sectionalist distinction is also clear in economic activities. Hunting and fishing are commonly collective, whereas female-prepared food, that is, manioc cake and tapioca porridges, are largely sectional (household). If we were to attempt a hypothetical linking together of the various patterns of Cubeo culture we could argue that the principle of linkage-autonomy is related to the broad principle of male-female polarity-complementarity, on the grounds that the male side in relation to the female

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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562 side stands for linkage, while the female side in relation to the male side stands for autonomy.

571 The second most important area in which polarity-complementar-
796 ity can be observed is ritual. There is no need to review the obvi-
152 ous distinctions between sacred and profane in ritual matters. What is of special interest is the Cubeo pattern of setting all ritual within an emotional framework that moves from calm to frenzy, from order to chaos, from sobriety to intoxication, from a slow tempo to an excited tempo. A Dionysian frenzy is without doubt the desired culmination of Cubeo ritual, but the culmination is not the entire ritual. The pattern is that of a traversal of the emotional spectrum. Again it seems possible to relate ritual emotion as an example of polarity-complementarity to the previously described principle of linkage
571 autonomy. The basis for this connection is brought out most clearly
765 in the mourning ceremony. In this most solemn of Cubeo rituals the
614 initial phases express symbolically the social patterns of masculine
152 solidarity, of sibness, and of phratric solidarity. In the course of interaction with what has been described as "female spontaneity," and in the course of the excitement generated by dancing, dramatization, drinking chicha, and taking *mihí*, the clear social pattern of collectivity is broken down and the participants, having lost sib identity so to speak, appear finally in the guise of nonsib or autonomous dancers. In other words, the zone of ritual calm is parallel to the aspect of linkage, and the zone of ritual frenzy is parallel to the aspect of autonomy. A curious feature of this relationship, one that suggests an extension of the pattern, is the Cubeo characterization of the intrasib or domestic mood as calm, that is, based on food, and the intersib
[615] mood as frenzied, that is, based on the drinking parties. The significance of this distinction between intrasib and intersib moods is that,
152 as we have already observed, the appearance of a phratric context
571 stimulates, at the same time, the assertion of autonomy. A parallel
574 pattern appears on those infrequent occasions when an intrasib
614 drinking party is held. Such a drinking party follows a more moder-
273 ate emotional scale, with far less intoxication, but it seems to have a similar result in accenting first the autonomy of the individual household and, finally, through some drunken disorder, the autonomy of the individual.

571 In this connection, it is interesting to consider that the women, who
574 are on the side of the sectional as opposed to the collective, may and
273 indeed do drink, but they, in contrast to the men, are under no
562 obligation to become intoxicated. Masculine intoxication is ritual
152 but feminine intoxication is secular and hence of minor significance.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

generally, this relationship of appropriateness between mood and activity is not novel. It seems, in fact, altogether natural. Cultures, however, as we well know, do not necessarily pattern themselves quite so naturally. Civilizations, in particular, place the emphasis upon the social action and expect the mood to be disciplined or to be subordinated to the social occasion. The Cubeo, on the other hand, expect a rather high degree of emotional spontaneity. In this respect they correspond oddly to the eighteenth-century notions of "natural man." In secular affairs the spontaneity of correspondence between emotion and action is much greater than in ritual. In ritual the effort is made to establish the correspondence between feeling and the concept of the sacred. Ritual in primitive society generally expresses in a symbolic or highly compressed form the fundamental cultural themes of a society. We have repeatedly shown the integration of ritual with social structure. Cubeo ritual, similarly, reveals not only the role of emotionality in Cubeo life but exhibits that spectrum of emotionality that has greatest significance for the Cubeo.[1] It is indeed in ritual, as Ruth Benedict has demonstrated in *Patterns of Culture*, that the ethos of a culture is most vividly displayed. Cubeo ritual, as has been seen, dramatizes the interplay between formal pattern and spontaneity. The most vivid example of this interplay is the interaction between men as sacred and women as a laity during the mourning ceremony. The effect of this interplay is to add significance to the spontaneity of emotion, and at the same time to give emotional zest to the formal ritual pattern. In short, what seems an inescapable conclusion about Cubeo culture is that neither form nor action can be comfortably tolerated unless charged with a proper feeling or emotion.

The relationship between form and emotion and social action and emotion is but one part of the pattern. The pattern also includes the emotional preferences. It is not simply that the Cubeo prefer to run a gamut, since an emotional gamut is a range within a particular plane. In ritual the emotional gamut moves from sobriety and order, as we have already explained, to intoxication and disorder. On a smaller scale, the ritual pattern moves from slow to fast. In the mourning ceremony these related planes of emotional modulation seemed to find their focus in a sexual rhythm, culminating in what is almost literally an orgasmic excitement. From this there may be reason to conclude that it is coitus, a very elementary biological

[1] It is to be understood, of course, that the roles of emotionality in secular life are not the same as they are in the sacred realm. In secular life moderation is more appropriate than excitement or intensity.